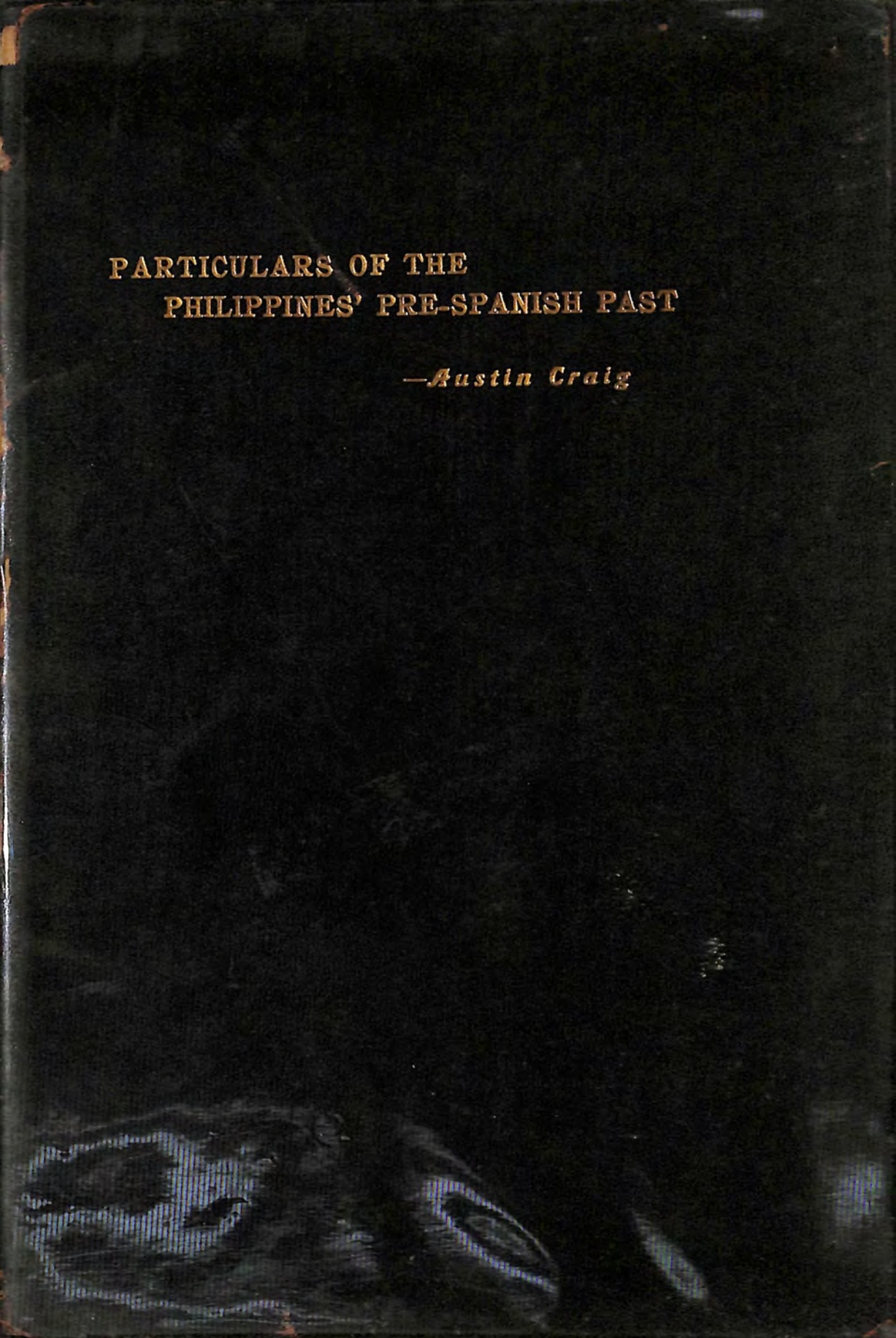
PARTICULARS OF THE PHILIPPINES' PRE-SPANISH PAST

—Austin Craig



Senator Manuel L. Quezon
with the compliments.
XII-2-'16 J. Austin Craig.

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THE PARTICULARS OF THE PHILIPPINES' PRE-SPANISH PAST

Kublai Khan's Fleet (in which Marco Polo sailed) Entering the Indian Archipelago, A. D. 1292.

(Drawn by Colonel Yule from description.)

Particulars of the Philippines' Pre-Spanish Past

Chinese Knowledge of the Philippines in the Third Century
(also A. D. 606, 636, and 1174-1189.)

Somewhere in the Southern Philippines
(A. D. 618-906, 627-649, 674, 766-779, 813, 827-835, 860-873, 992-1109, 1129.)

Marco Polo's Reference to Sulu, c.1292

Friar Odoric's Mention of the Philippines, c.1328

Ibn Batutu's Account of the Philippines, c.1347
with Doctor Rizal's comment thereon.

The Bisayans in Borneo
(Early XIV Century, 1368, c. 1450.)

Sulu in 1512. (Portuguese account)

The Discovery of Mindanao in 1512

When Portugal Dominated the Philippines
(1522, 1538, 1542, 1543, 1545.)

A Spanish Contribution, re 1372

MANILA, MCM.XVI

A PERSONAL NOTE

My recent research trip terminated much sooner than I had anticipated, through locating half a dozen Chinese authorities of which I had long had an indefinite idea. Reluctantly had I returned to Manila last July and at once I set about getting the time to follow up till decisively determined the clues which seemed so aggravatingly near to disclosing the desired sources upon the history of what is for me the most fascinating part of the Philippines' past.

Now in my notebook are definite references to book and chapter in Chinese works of the XIV, XV, XVI and XVII centuries where are mentions of the Philippines. The books deal in an encyclopedic way with China's neighbors and before another six months has gone by it is expected that the extracts of interest here will have been translated, annotated and fitted into their proper places into what will then be a fairly complete story of this country and its people from about A. D. 200 to 1521, that foreshadowed in the pamphlet "A Thousand Years of Philippine History Before the Coming of the Spaniards", which was published some years ago.

Other authorities to be consulted in carrying out this project would be chiefly Doctor J. A. Robertson's translation of the Bisayan manuscript history compiled from local traditions by Padre Pavon, together with its law code of 1433; Doctor N. M. Saleeby's writings on the Moros and Professor H. Otley Beyer's ethnological studies, besides the Field Museum publications of B. Laufer and Fay Cole. Thus it will be seen the work does not materially differ from what is being done by most college students, only no one gives references and the libraries in which these are looked up, either personally or through employing some one abroad, are scattered all over the world. The method is the same, only it is on a larger scale.

Simple as this work seems, it is of great importance that it be done and with as little delay as possible. It is the necessary preparation for the needed History of the Philippines, for the opening editorial "Our Purpose' in the shortlived *Revista Historica de Filipinas:* (May, 1905) is not yet obsolete: "We are tired of hearing it stated that the time is now ripe to write the history of the Philippines; we do not think it to be venturesome when we affirm that at present we have not even material sufficient accumulated, both as to quantity and quality, to permit the minute analysis which must precede all attempt at the historical synthesis of our civilization".

Of course since then the splendid Blair-Roberston collection has appeared, making available practically everything of value which has ever been written in any European language about this land since Magellan's time, but probably not two dozen sets of this really invaluable work are to be found in the Philippines. The establishment of libraries as liberally as schools and their equipment with historical reference books would seem the only adequate plan for getting history teaching to produce full results, judging by the experience of other popularly-governed lands.

But in addition to this material for the study of what Spain did here, and of equal interest at least, we want to know what Spain found here. Rizal in his annotations to Morga's 1609 History and in his essays "The Indolence of the Filipino" and "The Philippines A Century Hence" tries to give partial answer to this most natural question, a query which few others in his day dared voice, though Juan Luna with his historical paintings, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera with his Sanscrit studies, Isabelo de los Reyes in folk-lore investigations and Mariano Ponce through recalling the earliest-known Filipinos were tending toward the same end. The historical review just mentioned most strongly speaks of "the indigenous factor, whose proper recognition in our history we demand" and declared "the indigenous element in the Philippines during pre-Spanish times.... ought by rights to be given a large place in our history."

AUSTIN CRAIG.

University of the Philippines.
Manila, November 29th, 1916.

CHINESE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PHILIPPINES IN THE THIRD CENTURY

(Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie's "Formosa Notes on MSS., Races and Languages." London, 1887, p. 444 *et seq.*)

It is from the north through their early relations with Japan that they (the Chinese—C.) heard for the first time, and rather loosely, of the great island (Formosa—C.) as one of those belonging to the elongated line of island groups extending southwards from Korea and Japan to the Philippines. These early statements, which date from the third century, are interesting by their age and by the peculiar importance given therein to races of short men, i. e., of Negrito race, and cognate to the substratum of the population of Japan, to which the present race is indebted for their small size and several features of their language; they were also the very negritos which formed one of the earliest human strata on the mainland, in parts of Eastern and Southern China, in Indo-China proper, and in Eastern India. Recent anthopological researches have shown that this small and short race, pure or mixed, spread on sea from the southeast of New Guinea to the Andaman Islands, from Sumatra, Java, Timor, etc., to Japan. And on the mainland it spread from Eastern China, Annam and Malacca peninsula to the West of India beyond the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas.

A later information which we have on the subject in Chinese sources, dating from A. D. 606, is found in the dynastic history of the Sui (A. D. 581-618), under the heading of Liu-K'iu, which was the general designation of all the islands east of the Chinese coasts and south of Japan. (There is Chinese precedent for joining together the first parts of two chief minor names to make a group name, so as Luzon was Liu-sin and Formosa was K'iu-lung, this may be the origin of Liu-k'iu.—C.)

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The Chinese Annals of A. D. 628 and 636 speak of the states of *Shu-nai* and *Kamtang* as having sent

tribute to the Emperor; they were islands in the south-east, apparently corresponding to the Philippines, and they were inhabited by *Kun-lun* men (*T'ang shu-Tai ping yu lan, k.* 788, *f.* 6 *v.*). The second of these names is perhaps the modern *Gaddan* of Luzon, a Tagala nation, and the statement that they were *Kun-lun* men (i. e., negritos—C.) may have arisen from the name of the *Kalingas* also a Tagala tribe in the same island. (In this case Dr. L. thinks, according to a note, that the use of the name *Kunlun* may be without value as it might not be derived from there but from Kaling, a name he would derive through Java from "the bold Kalingas of Southern India" but which another Chinese narrative quoted in this pamphlet would seem to apply to a part of the Philippines.—C.)

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There are other evidences of importance which show that the Chinese were acquainted with the dark-skinned occupiers of Formosa as originated from the Philippine Archipelago. The *Yang tchou wen Kao* says that "the island of Taiwan (or Formosa, the Japanese now use this old name—C.), which was formerly called *Ki-lung*, was originally a part of the Liu-kiu state, which was founded by some descendants of the *Ha-la*." The author does not say what the *Ha-la* are, assuming that his readers are acquainted with that name, so we must look elsewhere for the wanted explanation. I find it in the *Mon hoh tchi*, "A Description of the Miao and Man Tribes," by Tsao Shu-K'iao of Shanghai. The entry about that people is amongst those of the south. They are described as dark with deep set eyes, a peculiarity which the Chinese stated to be that of the Kun-lun men, as we have seen above. The author of the *Miao Man hoh tchi* says also that the *Hala* do not know the practice of chewing betel, and he proceeds with some details on their clothes and customs in so far as they are peculiar to themselves, but they are unimportant. Now these *Hala* of the Chinese are simply the *Gala*,—commonly *Ta-gala*, with the usual *Ta* prefix left off (Dr. L. quotes in a note as a conjecture Leyden's opinion that the Chinese

have mistaken the first syllable *Ta-* for their own word *ta* "great" and dropped it with their usual contempt for foreign nations, the more reasonable that the prefix "little" is often used by them with Liu-sung, or Liu-sin, to destinguish it from their own "great" dynasty of the same name—C.); and the statement agrees entirely with the inference of ethnologists deduced from travellers' reports as to the parentship of several tribes of aborigines of Formosa with the Tagal population of the Philippines.

The Chinese ethnographical notices of the Sung Dynasty on the Liu-Kiu islands, including as they do all the islands from Japan to the Philippines, state that next to Liu-Kiu lies the country of the *P'i-she-ye* (pronounced Bishaya—C.) in which we must, I think, recognize the Bisayas, the most diffused population of the Philippines, and next to the Tagalas in importance. They made a raid on the coasts of Fuhkien at Tsiuen-tchou during the period 1174-1189 and caused a great deal of havoc.

SOMEWHERE IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

(Extracted, with verbal variations due to not accepting his forced identification as Java, from Groeneveldt: Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources. Batavia, 1876, p. 12 *et seq.*)

KALING is situated on an island in the southern ocean. It lies on the eastern side of Po-li (Poni or Borneo—C.), on the western side of Dva-patan (Dapitan district of Mindanao—C.), toward the north it has Cambodja and on its south the sea.

The walls of the city are made of palisades, and there is a large, two-story building, thatched with coir, in which the king lives. He sits on a couch of ivory (white camagon wood?—C.).

When they eat, they use no spoons or chopsticks but put the food into the mouth with their fingers. They have letters and know a little astronomy. Their wine is made out of the coconut tree's flowers which

are more than three feet long and as large as a man's arm. These are cut and the juice collected and made into a sweet and intoxicating wine.

Old History of the T'ang Dynasty (A. D. 618-906); Book 197. Ka-ling is also called Djapo (Dva-apo—C.). (*Here is left out substantially a repetition of the old history's account.*—C.)

They have couches of ivory and mats of the outer skin of bamboo. The land produces tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros horns and ivory. There is a cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously.

The king lives in the town of Djapo, but his ancestor (Ki-yen had lived more to the east at the town Pa-lu-ka-si. On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Djapo. There are thirty-two high ministers and the Da-tso-kan-hiung (Datu .....?—C.) is the first of them. On the mountains is the district Lang-pi-ya, where the king frequently goes to look at the sea.

When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of eight feet high, the shadow at noon falls on the south side and is 2.4 feet long.

During the period Chin-kwan (A. D. 627-649) this country sent envoys to bring tribute, together with those of Dva-hala and Dva-patan. The Emperor favored them with a reply under the great seal and as Dva-hala asked for good horses, these were given to them.

In 674 the people of this country took as their ruler a woman, named Sima, whose rule was most excellent, for even things dropped in the road were not picked up. An Arab prince who heard of this sent a bag of gold to be laid down within her territory, but the people that passed that way avoided it in walking, so it remained there for three years. Then the heir apparent stepped over this gold, which so incensed Sima that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded and the Queen said to the culprit: "Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will be sufficient to cut them off." Again the ministers interceded and she had his toes cut off in order to give the

example to the entire nation. When the Arab prince learned of this, he became afraid and dared not attack her.

Between the years 766 and 779 three envoys came to China from Kaling. In the year 813 its presents were four black slaves, parrots of various colors, "pinka" (meaning uncertain—C.) birds, and other things. The Emperor honored the envoy with a title, "Left Defender of the Office of the Four Inner Gates," and when the envoy wanted to decline this in favor of his younger brother, the Emperor praised him and bestowed titles on both. Between 827 and 835 they came again to court with tribute, and between 860 and 873 they sent an envoy to present female musicians.

New History of the T'ang Dynasty (A. D. 618-906). Book 222, part 2.

Djapo is situated in the southern ocean. Going from the capital to the east, one comes to the sea in a month, and from here it takes a ship half a month to get to Pulo Condore. On the west the sea is at a distance of forty-five days. On the south it is three days to the sea and from there five days' sailing to the Tazi (Arabs—C.). On the north the distance from the capital to the sea is five days and, embarking there, it takes fifteen days to go to Borneo, fifteen days more bring one to the east-coast of Sumatra, seven days more to Kora (on the Malay Peninsula?—C.) and lastly seven days longer to Ch'ai-lih Ting (an island near the entrance to the Gulf of Siam?—C.), which is on the way to the land of the Giauchi (Northern Annam) and to Canton.

The country is flat and fit for agriculture. Its products are rice, hemp and peas, there being no wheat, and a tenth part of their produce is paid as taxes. Salt is obtained by boiling seawater and fish, turtles, poultry, ducks, goats and cattle,which they kill for the the purpose of eating, are plentiful. Their fruits are papaya, coconuts, bananas, sugar cane and taro (gabe or aba—C.). The country further produces gold, silver

rhinoceros-horns, ivory, lignum aloes, sandalwood, anise, pepper, pinang, sulphur and sapanwood. The people are also engaged in rearing silkworms and making silk; they weave a thin silk, a yellow silk and cloth made of cotton. They cut leaves of silver and use them as money. The officials in charge of trade take one-tenth of a gold tael (Chinese ounce) for each 2.2 piculs of palay.

Their houses are handsome and adorned with yellow and green tiles. When Chinese merchants arrive there, they are entertained as guests in a public building and the eatables and drinkables are abundant and clean. The country does not produce tea, but a wine is made from coconut and other palm trees which is very fragrant and good. They have no corporal punishments, all transgressions being penalized with fines in gold which vary according to the nature of the offence. Only robbers and thieves are made to suffer death.

The king has his hair in a knot upon the top of his head, and wears golden bells, a silk robe and shoes of leather. He sits on a square couch and his officials, who see him daily, salute him three times on going away. When he goes out he rides on an elephant or sits in a carriage, with an escort of five to seven hundred soldiers. When the people see the king, they squat down until he has passed. Three sons of the king are viceroys and there are four dignitaries, called *Lo-ki-lien*, who manage together the affairs of the state, just as the ministers in China. These latter have no fixed pay but from time to time they get products of the soil and other things of this kind. Next there are more than three hundred civil employees, considered equal to *siu-tsai* (China's graduates of the lowest degree), who keep the books in which the revenue is put down. They have also about a thousand officials of lower rank who attend to the walls and moat of the town, the treasury, the granaries, and to the soldiers. The general of the army gets every half-year ten taels of gold and there are thirty thousand soldiers who, semi-annually, are paid according to their rank.

It is not the custom to use go-betweens, or match-makers, in contracting a marriage. Some gold is paid to the relations of the girl and then she is married.

In the fifth month they go in boats for their amusement and in the tenth month they repair to the mountains to enjoy themselves there. They have mountain-ponies, which carry them very well, and some go in mountain-chairs. Their musical instruments are a transversal flute, drums and wooden boards. They can also dance. The people wear their hair hanging loose, and their dress, wrapped around their breast, extends below the knees. When ill they take no medicine but only pray to the gods and to Budha. They have proper names, but no family names. In their language pearls are called *mutiara*, ivory they call *kara*, incense *kuntunlulin*, and the rhinoceros *timi*.

In the 12th month of the year 992, their king Maradja sent an embassy, consisting of a first, a second and an assistant envoy, to go to court and bring tribute. Said the first envoy: "Now that China has a rightful ruler again, our country comes to perform the duty of bringing tribute." The presents sent by the king were ivory, pearls, silk embroidered with flowers and gold, silk of various colors, sandalwood, cotton goods in various colors, tortoise-shell, betel-trays, short swords with hilts of rhinoceros-horn or gold, rattan mats woven with patterns, white parrots, and a small pavillion which was made of sandalwood and adorned with all kinds of precious materials.

After a voyage of sixty days they arrived at the district Ting-hai (Island of Chusan), whence the superintendent of trade first sent a messenger to inform the Emperor. The envoys were dressed like those of Persia who had brought tribute before. With the assistance of an interpreter, the envoy related how a Chinaman from Kien-khi, who was owner of many vessels and a great merchant, had often come to his country and that he now availed himself of this one's guidance to come to court and bring tribute. Also he said that his king was called Adji Maraya, the king's concubines were *Lo-kien-sa-p'oli* and that in his coun-

try they had regular officials. In his language the superintendent of trading vessels was called *Poho* and the wife of the king was styled *Pohopini*.

In their vessel was a woman, called *Meichu*, who wore her hair in a knot and had no hairpins or like ornaments. A garment of native cloth, very black, was wrapped around her body. Nobody could understand her talk and in saluting she prosterned herself just like the men did. There was also a child who wore about his neck a golden chain with a lock and on his hands golden bracelets fastened with a string of silk. He was called *Alu*.

The envoy stated that his country was at enmity with San-bo-tsai (Palembang, E. Sumatra) and that they were always fighting together. He also told the following story: "In our country are many monkeys, on the mountains, and they are not afraid of men. When called, with the sound *siau-siau*, they come forward, and if any fruit be thrown to them, two large monkeys advance first. These are called by the natives the kings, or chiefs, of the monkeys, and it is only when they have finished eating that the others take what remains."

When this envoy arrived at the capital, the Emperor gave orders to some of his officers to treat him well. He remained some time and when he left was presented with large quantities of gold and silk, and also with good horses and military arms as he had asked.

The envoy mentioned that they had as neighbor a country called *Paraman* where the people had the gift of looking into other people's minds. Whenever anybody wanted to do them mischief, these knew it beforehand.

In the 6th month of the year 1109 they sent envoys to bring tribute and the Emperor prescribed for them the same ceremonies as for the *Giau-chi* (Northern Annam). In the year 1129, the Emperor gave to the ruler of Djapo the title of King of that country (the full pompous title was not considered by the translator worth giving in its entirety as it

was verbose and difficult to render into English—C.), and appointed nominally 2,400 houses, which weer in reality 1,000, for his sustenance (probably for the sustenance of envoys, etc., sent by him). In 1132 this allowance was increased nominally by 500, really 200, houses.

COMMENT.—Groeneveldt's attempted identification of the country here described is based on the similarity of one of several transliterations of the Chinese name with Java. He finds it necessary to consider the writer of the account careless in listing products and attributing neighbors which do not fit in with Java and then ignores the shadow cast by the gnomon which is impossible for Java's latitude. None of these difficulties exits for the southern part of the Philippines.

MARCO POLO'S REFERENCE TO SULU

c. A. D. 1292

(From "The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdom and Marvels of the East," Cordier-Yule (3rd edition). London, 1903. Vol. II, p. 276.)

CHAPTER VII

WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC

WHEN you leave Chamba and sail for 700 miles on a course between south and south-west, you arrive at two Islands, a greater and a less. The one is called SONDUR and the other CONDUR. As there is nothing about them worth mentioning, let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur, and then we find another country which is called LOCAC. It is a good country and a rich; [it is on the mainland]; and it has a king of its own. The people are Idolaters and have a peculiar language and pay tribute to nobody, for their country

is so situated that no one can enter it to do them ill. Indeed if it were possible to get at it, the Great Kaan would soon bring them under subjection to him.

In this country the brazil which we make use of grows in great plenty; and they also have gold in incredible quantity. They have elephants likewise, and much game. In this kingdom too are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions, as I have told you before.

There is nothing else to mention except that this is a very wild region, visited by few people; nor does the king desire that any strangers should frequent the country, and so find out about his treasure and other resources. We will now proceed, and tell you of something else.

COMMENT.—Colonel Yule in his "Cathay and the Way Thither" (London, 1866), Vol. II, p. 521 et seq., says: "I suspect this kingdom of Soolo, or *Suluk* as the Malays call it, may be also the *Lohac* of Marco Polo which has so much troubled commentators (III, 7). This was an extensive region, lying 500 miless south-east of Sondur and Condur (Pulo Condur), inhabited by pagans, with a language of their own, under a king tributary to no one, being in a very inaccessible position, producing much brazil-wood and great abundance of gold, having elephants in its forests, and supplying all the east with *porcelains* or cowry-shells for currency. The position answers to that of Soolo with fair accuracy; cowries are said to be found in quantities there only of all the Indian islands; the elephant, as we have seen, is reported to exist there, and certainly does exist in the adjoining territory of Borneo, belonging to Soolo; its "much gold" is spoken of by Barbosa, Pauthier, indeed, in his new edition of Polo from ancient French Mss. reads *Soucat* instead of Lohac, and identifies it with *Sukadana*, on the S. W. of Borneo. But neither elephants nor cowries appear to be found in that part of Borneo; and as the native name of Soolo is *Sug* that *may* have been the name indicated, if Soucat be the right reading. Let me add, however, that Soolo is said to have been at one time subject to Sukadana, and this circumstance might perhaps help to reconcile Pauthier's suggestion with the facts."

22. Of the land called Thalamasin, and of the trees that give flour, and other marvels.

Near to this country is another which is called PANTEN, but others call it THALAMASYN, the king whereof hath many islands under him. Here be found trees that produce flour, and some that produce honey, others that produce wine, and others a posion the most deadly that existeth in the world. For there is no antidote to it known except one; and that is that if any one hath imbibed that poison he shall take of *stercus humanum* and dilute it with water, and of this potion he shall drink, and so shall he be absolutely quit of the poison. [And the men of this country being nearly all rovers, when they go to battle they carry every man a cane in the hand about a fathom in length, and put into one end of it an iron bodkin poisoned with this poison, and when they blow into the cane, the bodkin flieth and striketh whom they list, and those who are thus stricken incontinently die].

But, as for the trees that produce flour, 'tis after this fashion. These are thick, but of not any great height; they are cut into with an axe round about the foot of the stem, so that a certain liquor flows from them resembling size. Now this is put into bags made of leaves, and put for fifteen days in the sun; and after that space of time a flour is found to have formed from the liquor. This they steep for two days in sea-water, and then wash it with fresh water. And the result is the best paste in the world, from which they make whatever they choose, cates of sorts and excellent bread, of which I friar Odoric have eaten: for all these things have I seen with mine own eyes. And this kind of bread is white outside, but inside it is somewhat blackish.

By the coast of this country towards the south is the sea called the Dead Sea, the water whereof runneth ever towards the south, and if any one falleth into that water he is never found more. [And if the

shipmen go but a little way from the shore they are carried rapidly downwards and never return again. And no one knoweth whither they are carried, and many have thus passed away, and it hath never been known what became of them].

In this country also there be canes or reeds like great trees, and full sixty paces in length. There be be also canes of another kind which are called *Cassan*, and these always grow along the ground like what we call dog's grass, and at each of their knots they send out roots, and in such wise extend themselves for a good mile in length. And in these canes are found certain stones which be such that if any man wear one of them upon his person he can never be hurt or wounded by iron in any shape, and so for the most part the men of that country do wear such stones upon them. And when their boys are still young they take them and make a little cut in the arm and insert one of these stones, to be a safeguard against any wound by steel. And the little wound thus made in the boy's arm is speedily healed by applying to it the powder of a certain fish.

And thus through the great virtue of those stones the men who wear them become potent in battle and great corsairs at sea. But those who from being shipmen on that sea have suffered at their hands, have found out a remedy for the mischief. For they carry as weapons of offense sharp stakes of very hard wood, and arrows likewise that have no iron on the point; and as those corsairs are but poorly harnessed the shipmen are able to wound and pierce them through with these wooden weapons, and by this device they succeed in defending themselves most manfully.

Of these canes called *Cassan* they make sails for their ships, dishes, houses, and a vast number of other things of the greatest utility to them. And many other matters there be in that country which it would cause great astonishment to read or hear tell of; wherefore I am not careful to write them at present.

COMMENT.—Thala Masyn, Crawfurd thinks, may be *Talaga Masin* or Salt Lake: Yule suggests *Tanamasin*, Salt Land, and Banjarmasin (Salt garden), Southern Borneo, is one of Yule's guesses, as well as Talysian, near Panteh, on the Biru coast of East Borneo. The latter would have come within the Sulu sphere of influence and possibly even the former. Yule calls attention to the resemblance between this name and Tawalisi, which he considers the kingdom of Soolo or Suluk, N. E. of Borneo, and quotes Crawfurd: "Owing to some cause or other there has sprung up in Soolo (Sulu—C.) a civilization and power far exceeding those of the surrounding islanders. A superior fertility of the soil, and better means of maintaining a numerous and concentrated population has probably been the main cause of this superiority; but whatever be the cause, it has enabled this people not only to maintain a paramount authority over the whole Archipelago (i. e., the so-called Soolo Archipelago), but to extend it to Palawan and to the northern coasts of Borneo and islands adjacent to it." The reasoning by which Dr. Rizal preferred the Northern part of the Philippines to Sulu for Tawalisi would seem applicable here, and names for salt regions (like Maasin) are common from Pangasinan, a salt kingdom once powerful enough to be recognized by China, south to Sulu. References here are: Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, (London, 1866), Vol. I, p. 90—Odoric section, and Vol. II, p. 520—Ibn Batutu section. Chau-Ju-kua mentions that foreign traders barter salt for Bornean products, so that Sulu and Luzon, which are mentioned as producing it by boiling seawater, have a point in their favor and in either case the land mentioned may be considered to be in the Philippine Archipelago, since Yule has sufficiently established that it must be in this vicinity or Borneo.

IBN BATUTU'S ACCOUNT OF THE PHILIPPINES

After leaving Kakula they sailed for thirty-four days, and then arrived at the Calm or Pacific Sea (*ul Bahr-ul Káhil*) which is of a reddish tint, and in spite of its great extent is disturbed by neither winds nor waves. The boats were brought into play to tow the ship, and the great sweeps of the junk were pulled likewise. They were thirty-seven days in passing this sea, and it was thought an excellent passage, for the time occupied was usually forty or fifty days at least. They now arrived at the country of TAWALISI, a name derived, according to Ibn Batuta, from that of its king.

It is very extensive, and the sovereign is the equal of the King of China. He possesses numerous junks with which he makes war upon the Chinese until they sue for peace, and consent to grant him certain concessions. The people are idolaters; their countenances are good, and they bear a strong resemblance to the Turks. They are usually of a copper complexion, and are very valiant and warlike. The women ride, shoot, and throw the javelin well, and fight in fact just like the men. We cast anchor in one of their ports which is called KAILUKARI. It is also one of their greatest and finest cities, and the king's son used to reside there. When we had entered the harbor soldiers came down to the beach, and the skipper landed to speak with them. He took a present with him for the king's son; but he was told that the king had assigned him the government of another province, and had set over this city his daughter, called Urdujá.

The second day after our arrival in the port of Kailukari, this princess invited the *Nákhodah* or skipper, the *Karáni* or purser, the merchants and persons of note, the *Tindail* or chief of the sailors, *Sipahsalár* or chief of the archers, to partake of a banquet which Urduja had provided for them according to her hospitable custom. The skipper asked me to accompany them, but I declined, for these people are infidels and it is unlawful to partake of their food. So when the guests arrived at the Princess's she said to them, "Is there anyone of your party missing?" The captain replied, "There is but one man absent, the *Bakshi* (or Divine), who does not eat of your dishes." Urduja rejoined "Let him be sent for." So a party of her guards came for me, and with them some of the captain's people, who said to me "Do as the Princess desires."

So I went, and found her seated on her great chair or throne, whilst some of her women were in front of her with papers which they were laying before her. Round about were elderly ladies, or duennas, who acted as her counsellors, seated below the throne

on chairs of sandalwood. The men also were in front of the Princess. The throne was covered with silk, and canopied with silk curtains, being itself made of sandalwood and plated with gold. In the audience hall there were buffets of carved wood, on which were set forth many vessels of gold of all sizes, vases, pitchers, and flagons. The skipper told me that these vessels were filled with a drink compounded with sugar and spice, which these people use after dinner; he said it had an aromatic odour and delicious flavour; that it produced hilarity, sweetened the breath, promoted digestion, etc., etc.

As soon as I had saluted the princess she said to me in the Turkish tongue *Husn misen yakshi misen* (*Khúsh mísan? Yakhshi mísan?*) which is as much as to say, Are you well? How do you do? and made me sit down beside her. This princess could write the Arabic character well. She said to one of her servants, *Dawát wa batak katur;* that is to say, "Bring inkstand and paper." He brought these, and then the princess wrote, *Bismillah Arrahmán Arrahím* (In the name of God the merciful and compassionate!) saying to me, "What's this?" I replied, "*Tanzari nám*" (Tangri nam), which is as much as to say "the name of God;" whereupon she rejoined "*Khushn,*" or "It is well." She then asked from what country I had come, and I told her that I came from India. The princess asked again, "From the Pepper country?" I said "Yes." She proceeded to put many questions to me about India and its vicissitudes, and these I answered. She then went on, "I must positively go to war with that country and get possession of it, for its great wealth and great forces attract me." Quoth I, "You had better do so." Then the princess made me a present consisting of dresses, two elephant-loads of rice, two she buffaloes, ten sheep, four rothls of cordial syrup, and four *Martabans*, or stout jars, filled with ginger, pepper, citron and mango, all prepared with salt as for a sea voyage.

The skipper told me that Urduja had in her army free women, slave girls, and female captives, who fought just like men; that she was in the habit of

making incursions into the territories of her enemies, taking part in battle, and engaging in combat with warriors of repute. He also told me that on one occasion an obstinate battle took place between this princess and one of her enemies; a great number of her soldiers had been slain, and her whole force was on the point of running away, when Urduja rushed to the front, and forcing her way through the ranks of the combatants till she got at the king himself with whom she was at war, she dealt him a mortal wound, so that he died, and his troops fled. The princess returned with his head carried on a spear, and the king's family paid a vast sum to redeem it. And when the princess rejoined her father he gave her this city of Kailukari, which her brother had previously governed. I heard likewise from the same skipper that various sons of kings had sought Urduja's hand, but she always answered, "I will marry no one but him who shall fight and conquer me!" so they all avoided the trial, for fear of the shame of being beaten by her.

We quitted the country of Tawálisi, and after a voyage of seventeen days, during which the wind was always favorable, we arrived in China.

Dr. Rizal's Comment.—I cannot accept Yule's suggested suspicion that Tawalisi may be found only in a Gulliver's Geography. While I may have doubt regarding the accuracy of some of Ibn Batutu's details, still I believe in the voyage to Tawalisi. There are details which only the reality of the statements could have furnished, details which could not have been invented,—like the change in the government of Kailucary, previously ruled by the son of the King, etc. Besides, what possible interest could Ibn Batutu have had in falsifying? In this travel-account he introduces nothing in favor of his religion or of himself, nor does he mention new marvels or entertaining adventures. The traveller had visited so many and such beautiful countries, much more interesting than Tawalisi, that he would not go out of his way to discredit them in order to invent an insignificant incident.

That after his return he tried to embellish his travels with some exaggerated and fanciful details is possible. But imagination, love of the marvellous, or a certain confusion produced by the multitude of things seen can equally well have been the cause.

Situation of Tawalisi.—The principal data in which I think this ought to be sought are the distances, which do not vary with time and I give preference to these over details regarding names and customs. From Kakula, in Mul-Java (Maldiwas?), to Tawalisi usually took seventy-four to eighty-four days. Ibn Batutu spent seventy-one days, thirty-four going under sail and thirty-seven rowing. From Tawalisi to Canton was fifteen days with a favorable wind. These details argue for Ibn Batutu's veracity since travellers usually make the lands they invent remote.

With these two data, and knowing that the average attainment of Ibn Batutu's ship was from eight to ten geographical leagues (fifteen of these to the degree) —from the Maldives to Bengal, forty-three days, from Bengal to Barahuagan (Cape Negro, Pegu?) fifteen,— we may trace two arcs, one from Canton with a radius of 180 geographical leagues—on the supposition that with favoring winds the day's sail might be twelve leagues, and the other are from Kakula (between Java and Sumatra) of 430 leagues' radius—calculating that by oars the speed would be only half. The intersection of these arcs, we should find, would be exactly in the neighborhood of the northern part of the Philippines. By the details of distance given Tawalisi could not be found in Celebes (one of Sanguinetti's theories) nor in Sulu (Yule's opinion), since from these points one could not get to Canton in fifteen days on a junk of the velocity of that day. Neither can it be in Tonquin (the other guess of Sanguinetti), nor even in Formosa, because where else can we locate a tranquil sea, without waves, wind or current, except where the typhoon reigns? The pacific sea of Ibn Batutu we can interpret, like Yule, by the Celebes sea where storms are very rare. Then the language used would be explained for "of a land" could be spoken

of Borneo while if the navigation were close to the continent one would say "of *the* land," Asia being well-known.

—From a London letter to Dr. A. B. Meyer, of Dresden. Copy from original in Ayer collection, Chicago, furnished by Dr. José P. Bantug.

THE BISAYANS IN BORNEO

(Hose-McDougall: The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, London 1912. Vol. I. p. 15 *et seq.*)

In the earliest years of the fourteenth century..... Angka Wijaya extended the power of Majapahit (in Java—C.) over Palembang in Sumatra, Timor, Ternate, Luzon, and the coasts of Borneo..... In 1368 Javanese soldiers drove from Bruni the Sulu marauders who had sacked the town..... How early the Arab doctrines were taught in Bruni it is impossible to state with any precision. Local tradition ascribes their introduction to the renowned Alak ber Tata, afterwards known as Sultan Mohammed. Like most of his subjects this warrior was a Bisaya.... After much fighting he subdued the people of Igan, Kalak, Seribas, Sadong, Semarahan, and Sarawak (all parts of the great island of Borneo—C.), and compelled them to pay tribute. He stopped the annual payment to Majapahit of one jar of pinang juice, a useless commodity though troublesome to collect. During his reign the Muruts were brought under Bruni rule by peaceful measures, and the Chinese colony was kept in good humor by the marriage of the Bruni king's brother and successor to the daughter of one of the principal Chinamen.

Alak ber Tata is said to have gone to Johore, where he was converted to Islam, given the daughter of Sultan Bulkiah and the title of Sultan, and was confirmed in his claim to rule over Sarawak and his other conquests. (The authors' note here queries how it was possible for this ruler of *c.* 1450 to visit Johore, which was founded after the capture of Malaca by the Portuguese in 1512.—C.)

Sultan Mohammed was succeeded by his brother Akhmad, son-in-law of the Chinese chief, and he was

in turn succeeded by an Arab from Taif who had married his daughter. Thus the present royal house of Bruni is derived from three sources—Arab, Bisaya, and Chinese. The coronation ceremony as still maintained affords an interesting confirmation of this account. On that occasion the principal minister wears a turban and Haji outfit, the two next in rank are dressed in Chinese and Hindu fashion, while the fourth wears a *chawat* over this trousers to represent the Bisaya; and each of these ministers declares the Sultan to be divinely appointed..... We come now to the most heroic figure in Bruni history, Sultan Bulkiah, better known by his earlier name, Nakoda Ragam. The prowess of this prince has been celebrated in prose and verse. He journeyed to distant lands, and conquered the Sulu Islands and eastern Borneo. Over the throne of Sambas he set a weak-minded brother of his own. He even sent an expedition to Manila, and on the second attempt seized that place. Tribute poured into his coffers from all sides. His wife was a Javanese princess, who brought many people to Bruni. These intermarried with the Bisayas, and from them, it is said, are sprung the Kadayans, a quiet agricultural folk, skilled in various arts, but rendered timid by continual oppression.....

Nakoda Ragam's capital at Buang Tawa was on dry land, but when he died, killed accidentally by his wife's bodkin, the nobles quarreled among themselves and some of them founded the present pile-built town of Bruni. It was to this Malay (Bisayan—C.) capital and court that Pigafetta paid his visit in 1521 with the surviving companions of Magellan..... It is easy to see from Pigafetta's narrative that at the date of his visit the effects of Nakoda Ragam's exploits had not evaporated. The splendor of the court and the large population the city is said to have contained were presumably the result of the conquests he had made in neighboring islands.

SULU IN 1512

(Duarte Barbosa: East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the XVI Century. Stanley translation. London, 1866, p. 203.)

Seventy-five leagues further on to the northeast in the direction of China is a very large island and well supplied with various provisions, which is called Solor. It is inhabited by Gentiles, almost white men and well made. They have a Gentile king and a language of their own. In this island there is much gold, which is found in the earth; and all round this island the Moors gather much seed pearl and fine pearls of perfect color and not round.

COMMENT.—Crawfurd says (Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries; London, 1856; p. 407): "The first authentic notice of Soolo is by Barbosa." Quoting the above extract he concludes. "It is evident from this description that the island alluded to, notwithstanding the orthography, is Soolo, or Suluk (our Sulu—C.), and not Solor between Floris and Timur, and to which the description in no respect applies."

THE DISCOVERY OF MINDANAO IN 1512

(From the London 1862 reprint of the 1601 translation "*The Discoveries of the World from their first original unto the yeere of our Lord 1555: Briefly written in the Portugal longue, by Antonio Galvano, Governor of Ternate, the chiefe Island of the Malucos.*"—(Page 117 *et seq.*)—(One of the three extant copies of the 1563 Portuguese original edition belonged to Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island.)

Antonie de Breu and those that went with him tooke their course toward the north, where is a small island called Gumnape (or Ternate)..... From thence they went to the Islands of Burro and Amboino, and came to an anker in an haven of it called Guliguli..... Here the Portugals burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in eight degrees toward the south, where they laded cloves, nutmegs and mace, in a Junco or barke, which Francis Serrano bought here.

They say that not farre from the Islands of Banda there is an island where there breedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one cave in the middest of the land.... In the yeere 1512 they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the baxos or flats of Lucapinho Francis Serrano perished (i. e., was wrecked—C.) in his Junke or barke, from whence escaped unto the Isle of Mindanao with nine or ten Portugals which were with him, and the kings of Maluco sent for them. These were the first Portugals that came to the Islands of Cloves, which stand from the equinoctiall line towardes the north in one degree, where they lived seven or eight yeeres.

COMMENT:—In the Barcelona Library's Duarte Barbosa MSS. is an appendix relating to this voyage and from it one learns that Serrano's "nine or ten" companions were two other Portuguese, a Spaniard and five Malays, instead of all "Portugals" as suggested above. De Barros tells how Serrano "wrote some letters from the Maluco Islands where he was to Ferdinand Magellan, on account of being his friend when both were in India, principally at the taking of Malacca." Pigafetta in his account of the first circumnavigation refers also to this and tells of finding the widow and orphans of Serrano on one of the islands of the Moluccas after their Cebu disaster, the "discoverer of Mindanao" having died shortly before their arrival.

WHEN PORTUGAL DOMINATED THE PHILIPPINES

(GALVANO, OB. CIT., P. 168.)

In this yeere 1225 Don George de Meneses, captaine of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriquez, sent a foyst to discover land towards the north, wherein went as captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomes de Sequiera for pilot, who afterwards went as pilot on an Indian voyage. In 9 or 10 degrees they found certain islands standing close together. That passed among them and they called them the Islands of Gomes de Sequiera, he being the first pilot that discovered them. And they came backe againe to the fort by the (Moro—in the Portuguese,—C.) Island of Batochina.

(GALVANO, OB. CIT., P. 208.)

In the same yeere 1538, Antoine Galvano being chiefe captaine in the isles of Maluco, sent a ship towards the north, whereof one Francis de Castro was captaine, having commandment to convert as many as he could to the faith, having been asked to do so by many of those parts * * *. When Francis de Castro arrived at the Island of Mindanao and other islands near them, sixe kings received the water of baptisme, with their wives, children and subjects; and the most of them Antoine Galvano gave commandement to be called John (in the Portuguese version, Joannes—C.), in remembrance that king John the third raigned then in Portugall. * * * It is further to be noted that the people of these islands do gild their teeth.

(GALVANO, OB. CIT., P. 230.)

In the yeere 1542, Don Antony de Mendoca (viceroy of New Spain—C.) sent unto the Islands of Mindanao, Cebu and Nata, where Magellan died, a fleete of sixe ships * * * the generall whereof was one Rui López de villa Lobos, being his brother in law and a man in great estimation. * * * The 15th of the same month (December) they had sight of the islands which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequiera, and Alvaro de Saavedra had discovered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came unto them on Twelfe day. And beyond them they found other islands in 10 degrees all standing round, and in the midst of them they came to an anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood. In the same yeere 1542 Don Diego de Almagro was slaine in Peru by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the yeere 1543, in Januarie, they departed from the foresaid islands with all the flete, and had sight of certaine islands, out of which there came unto them men in a certaine kinde of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish toong saying, "*Buenas dias*,

Matelotes," that is to say "Good morrow, companions (rather sailors—C.)"; whereat the Spaniards much marveled * * *. The Spaniards not knowing that many thereabouts had been christened by Francis de Castro * * * some of them named these Islands, *Islas de las cruzes* and others named them *Islas de los Matelotes*.

(GALVANO, OB. CIT., P. 233 ET SEQ.)

In the same yeere 1543, the first of February, Rui López had sight of that noble island Mindanao, standing in 9 degrees: they cou,d not double it nor yet come to ancre as they would, because the christened Kings and people resisted them, having given their obedience to Antonie Galvano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were five or six Kings that had received baptism, who by no meanes would incure his displeasure. Rui López perceiving this, and having a contrary wind sailed along the coast to find some aide. * * *

So sayling in 16 degrees of northerly latitude 700 leagues from when they had come, as it seemed to them, wanting wind they arrived againe at the Islands of the Philippinas. They had sight of 6 or 7 islands more, but they ankered not at them. They found also an Archipelago of Islands inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees; the people be well disposed and the women well proportioned, and more beautiful and better arraied than in any other place of those parts, having many jewels of gold, which was a token that there was some of that metal in the same countrie. Here were also barkes of 43 cubits (64m ft.c.) in length and two fathoms and a halfe (15 ft.—c.) in bredth, and the plankes five inches thicke, which barkes were rowed with oares. They told the Spaniards, that they used to saile in them to China, and that if they would go thither they should have pilots to conduct them the countrie not being above five or six daies sayling thence. There came unto them also certaine boates well built and fitted, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and under-

neath were very blacke moores with frizled haire, as if for parade on state; and being demanded where they had these blacke moores, they answered that they had them from certaine islands standing fast by Sebut (Cebu—C.), where there were many of them (Negros?—C.).

(GALVANO, OB. CIT., P. 239.)

In this yeere 1545 and in the moneth of June, there went a junk from the citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo (Pero fidalgo, in the Portuguese original—C.), and by contrary he was driven towards the north; where he founde an island standing in 9 or 10 degrees, that stretched it selfe to 22 degrees of latitude, which is called The Isle of the Lucones, because the inhabitants thereof were so named. It may have some other name and harborowes, which as yet we know not: it runneth from the north unto the south-west, and standeth betweene Mindanao and China. They say they sailed along by it 250 leagues, where the land was fruitfull (or pleasant may be a closer translation—C.) and well covered (possibly, better, well favored—C.), and they affirme, that there they will give two pezos of gold for one of silver: and yet it standeth not farre from the country of China.

Translated from letter to Dr. A. B. Meyer, of Dresden, in Ayer Collection, Chicago. Copy furnished by Dr. J. P. Bantug.

A SPANISH CONTRIBUTION RE 1372

(Probably by a Dominican Friar of the China mission.)

Translated from "*La Ilustración del Oriente*," an illustrated literary and historical review of Manila, of Dec. 23, 1877, and there signed "*T., Taiping Chang, 6 December 77.*"

When did the Chinese learn of the existence of Luzon? It must have been in a very recent epoch, for their annals, so minute in describing what was going on in the empire and outside, mention Luzon only a century and a half before the Spanish occupation. Their tardy knowledge was natural enough since

they did not discover the Islands of Formosa until 1430 and then by accident, a mandarin who was on his way to Siam (Sien-lo) having been cast away upon its shores in a storm.

The *data* on this island are to be found in the Chinese work "Ming-shi," and there it is said that the earliest relations between China and Luzon date from A. D, 1372, the year in which there came to the imperial court of Yung-hu the first ambassadors from Luzon with the customary "tribute;" for one should note that the custom so widespread in the Orient and even in Europe in the Middle Ages, of initiating diplomatic relations with an interchange of presents, has been interpreted by China as a sign of submission and vassalage rendered to the Emperor.